

351 lay tree stumps and felled trunks (cf. Photo. 67). Only the vil-
 lage square had remained, up to a point, free from these obstruc-
 [972] tions. The trunks served as seats and, bit by bit, as firewood.
 They lay in such numbers over the vast area stretching between
 the houses and the edge of the forest, and were so entangled and
 [114] ensnared by their branches, that the imaginative Madame de
 [712] la Falaise (196), who visited Tampiitaua on August 23, 1935, that
 is to say, shortly after my departure, went so far as to write the
 following: "We proceeded toward the village, where the tribe,
 for fear of armed aggression, has fortified the surroundings. The
 felled, tangled trees, the traps and ingenious obstacles, are dis-
 couraging. The boldest aggressor would break his neck long be-
 fore he got the better of them" [translated from French].

361 In this respect, however, I must confess that the only serious
 712 obstacles I encountered daily on crossing the area in question were
 114 the products of the tribal digestive processes, for the supposed
 • [514] fortification held no role other than that of a huge toilet. [110:
 192] I do not wish to determine whether such obstacles may be
 termed "ingenious," but I wish to emphasize that they did not
 discourage me. The truth is that the Tapirapé do not fortify their
 [171] village in any way, and differ in this respect from the Tupinambá,
 who surrounded their villages (Jean Parmentier *apud* J.F. de
 Almeida Prado, 180; Hans Staden, p. 3; Gabriel Soares de Sousa,
 366). The "traps and ingenious obstacles" mentioned above exist
 only in the imagination of the author. Even the act of placing
 [721] sentries, a precaution referred to in Chapter 5, is strikingly incon-
 sistent with the natural bent of the Tapirapé.

361 Toward the east a stream meandered, a few paces from the
 312 village. Its clear, fresh waters ran free of the thick forest for only
 515 a short stretch, which was used at the same time as bathroom and
 224 drinking fountain, and as a spot for fishing and for washing the
 [417] sleeping hammocks. A well-beaten path led from it to the vil-
 lage plaza, skirting a plot of sugar cane to the left. According to
 219 what Reverend Kegel told me, this plot resulted from collective
 476 labor performed for Kamairahó. The latter had ruled on the site
 of the plot and concurrently on that of the village, which had been
 built later beside the communally prepared garden. It was, so to
 speak, a luxury plot, for it contained nothing but the sweet grass

516 directly upon the ground. Actually, the manner of sitting is
 562 one of the cultural traits in which the sexes are radically differentiated among the Tapirapé. A woman, when she is not sitting in her hammock, sits on the ground without previously covering it, and only exceptionally does she sit on a tree trunk beside
 [834] her husband (cf. Photo. 58). She always hides her sexual organs, however, either by covering them with the hand or with a leg folded against the body while the other leg is stretched out (Photo. 59) or by crossing her legs (Photos. 11 and 32). When she wields the pestle and kneels to hold the mortar between her knees, this object hides, up to a point, her sexual organs (Baldus 7, Fig. 31). The men usually sit with open legs and cover the ground with a mat (Photo. 53) or a piece of cloth (Photo. 63), when they do not squat (Photo. 39) or sit on a tree trunk (Photo. 61). When several of them sit on the same trunk, they prefer to press close together rather than to leave space between them. When eating at home, the husband eases himself into the net while the woman sits before him on the floor. [Ed., two paragraphs are omitted.]

171 The Tapirapé resemble the majority of Brazilian tribes in not
 354 having any special implements to light up their houses, but merely relying at night on the weak flames of their fires for the purpose.

372 I did not witness the making of fire among the Tapirapé, for
 171 they never allowed it to go out and carried burning sticks with them on their journeys. In Wagley's collection at the National Museum [Rio de Janeiro], however, there are fire drills to indicate that this tribe, whenever necessary, makes fire by the process used in all [111:116] Brazilian tribes and already described and reproduced in Hans Staden's woodcuts (p 3), that is to say, by twirling between the open hands a rod resting perpendicularly on a piece of wood.

To kindle the fire, the Tapirapé use fans which are made, as in a number of Tupi tribes (cf. Métraux 2, 101), of plaited palm leaves. The Tupinambá also had fans for this purpose, as is shown in one of Staden's woodcuts (t 1).

• [514] When the inhabitants of Tampiitaua leave the house at night to answer the calls of nature, they light their way with a burning stick which they wave about constantly to prevent the fire from dying out. Adalbert, Prince of Prussia (679), when he traveled in

372 Juruna [Yuruna] territory, called this habit of waving a burning
171 piece of wood to one side and another "the Indian way" in his
diary. Among the Tapirapé, the burning sticks shaken in this
372 fashion serve as nocturnal protection against certain anchinga,
776 that is to say, evil spirits. Hans Staden (p 4) also wrote of the
771 Tupinambá: "At night, when they must attend to their needs,
they do not like to leave their houses without taking a light,
for such is their fear of the devil called Ingange and frequently
seen by them." According to Koch-Grünberg (2, III, 168), the
fear of evil spirits (mauarí) impels the Taulipáng to carry a burn-
ing stick when they leave the house at night.

● 514 In spite of the constant danger presented by the anchinga and
naturally also by the fearsome Kayapó neighbors, the Tapirapé
never defecate near the house even at night, but go into the
labyrinth of felled trunks lying between the village and the forest,
far enough so the clean open spaces near the dwelling will not be
soiled and the odor of the feces will not reach the house. The
[195] custom of retiring to a good distance for this purpose is embodied
in the expression kaa-pe-pyá ("belly-to-the-woods"), or to trans-
late it more freely, "I shall now take my belly toward the woods,"
a phrase with which every well-bred lady in Tampiitaua must
announce to her housemates her intention to go and defecate.

When it comes to urinating, however, these women are not
quite as formal. When we rose from a night session carried out
in front of the house and presided over by Kamairahó, the moon
was out and I could see dark spots on the ground where members
of the female sex had been sitting. Without moving or showing
the slightest sign of unrest, the ladies, young and old, who had
been sitting around us, had urinated copiously while the great man
and I aired the most profound mythological questions. Apparent-
ly, the wet spots on which they sat had not been overly unpleasant
to them.

● Naturally, a woman who is standing does not sit directly upon
the ground, but squats, when she wishes to urinate. The men also
adopt this position. There were some interesting endeavors at
177 cultural change in this respect, however. Once, some time after
514 my arrival in the village, while I urinated in the neighboring
woods, I was surprised to see several young men imitate me by
standing also. No sooner had they started out in this way, however,

177 than overcome by habit they bent down until they were squatting
 ● 514 again. These inroads on the traditional manner [111:117] of
 urinating were repeated on the days that followed. "I urinate"
 [192] is ankurúg in Tapirapé. [Ed., a sentence is omitted.]

000 A letter from Father Antônio Blasquez, written in Bahia in
 1557 and included in the Cartas jesuíticas [Letters from the Jesuits]
 (II, 173) says of the local Tupinambá: "Their houses are dark,
 ill-smelling, and smoky, and in the center stand some jars shaped
 like half-troughs that recall the caldrons of hell. At the same
 moment, some of the Indians are laughing and others are crying,
 so slowly does the night go by in this house, where no one goes out.
 Their beds are hammocks rotten with urine, for they are so lazy
 that they will not get up to answer the calls of nature." [Ed., two
 paragraphs are omitted.]

514 As far as the Tapirapé are concerned, I may say that I never
 saw them urinate inside the house and never smelled urine on
 their hammocks, which, in any case, were washed in the nearby
 stream. To judge the cleanliness of the village as a whole, there is
 356 no better authority than that of the mistress of a household in one
 364 of the most civilized nations of Europe, namely, the charming
 Madame de la Falaise, who writes as follows about Tampiitaua
 (200): "The general impression is one of stability and cleanliness,
 which is not encountered in any of the Caraja villages I visited.
 Here, there is neatness. No litter, no thrift-shop jumble, no
 tattered witches, no garbage, or broken pottery. Caraja villages
 express disorder, laziness, a heedless attitude. They are flea
 markets stinking of old fish. The Tapirapé village expresses order.
 The basic character of each race is clearly expressed. The Caraja,
 000 who camp for five or six months [111:118] at most, delight in the
 temporary. The Tapirapé, who are much more sedentary, set up
 361 their house for a long time" [translated from French.] [Ed., a
 paragraph is omitted.]

231 Of course, the cleanliness of the Tapirapé has limits which
 364 the kindness of Madame de la Falaise does not disclose, but which
 become apparent when we take a good look at the ground in some
 of the photographs reproduced in this work. There is no doubt that
 the voracity of the dogs and chickens contributes a great deal to
 the cleanliness of the houses and their immediate vicinity, for if it
 were not for them, much of the kind of garbage in which they are

152 in the open against a rampart of fire or lances, recede terrified in view of the
 775 suspicion of a tenuous and inviable enemy." In fact, the Tapirapé who opposes
 [761] the jaguar with only bow and club as I had occasion to observe, and who is not
 afraid of dying, as they frequently assured me, is terrified by the presence of the
 souls of the dead and of other bad beings. It is not only the soul of a dead shaman
 which causes fear. I knew a kind father who became afraid of the soul of his
 beloved little child when this was deceased. And whoever is not a shaman feels
 a dread of dreaming while asleep, because during the dream he has to travel
 through the dangerous supernatural world. And not infrequently boys who
 wanted to drink water at night in the nearby brook asked me to go with them,
 because a ghost had been seen taking a bath. Unfortunately, whenever I arrived,
 the well-scrubbed ghost had already gone away. Frequently the boys sang
 loudly when going to the brook at night in order to calm their fear as I have
 observed in Europe when children went for something in a dark cellar.

123 Although the Tapirapé didn't react in any way against the fear produced by
 152 the eclipse, they were not always so passive as regards the fear caused by the
 648 white men, the Kayapó, and the spirits. When my English companion fell ill,
 they didn't hesitate in demanding his departure, and when a little girl of the
 house where I was living fell sick, all the people around me wore a threatening
 air as if I had been the magic author of the disease. The fear inspired by the
 Kayapó was combated not only by the Tapirapé holding clubs during the
 nocturnal collective dances, but also by their parodying their neighbours by a
 pantomime which represented a supposed attack against peaceful tribesmen.
 [514] The fear of the spirits gives not only great prestige to the shaman, official
 protector against them, but also puts in the hand of every Tapirapé a torch
 which he agitates without interruption if by night he has to go out of the house
 in order to relieve himself.

152 So for the frightened Tapirapé also, life is struggle, action and reaction, fear
 157 and wrath. And this fearful people is the gayest I ever found in my life, and
 Kamairahó, the pessimist who more than anyone declared himself to be afraid,
 had a glad smile on his face everytime when I saw him awake in the morning.

São Paulo, Brazil.

Notes

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1. Cf. Herbert Baldus: *Essaios de Etnologia Brasileira*. S. Paulo, 1937, pp. 156-158.
 2. Ashley Montagu: *The Natural Superiority of Women*. London, 1954, p. 92.
 3. Emilio Mira y López: *Quatro gigantes da alma*. 3a. edição, Rio de Janeiro, 1953, pp. 39-40.
 4. Cf. Herbert Baldus: Os Tapirapé. *Revista do Arquivo Municipal*, 110: 192, 1946. S. Paulo.
 5. Cf. Amílcar A. Botelho de Magalhães: *Pelos sertões do Brasil*, 2a. edição, S. Paulo, 1941, pp. 497-498; Martin Guinde: *Die Feuerlandindianer, I: Die Selk'nam*, Mödling bei Wien, 1931, pp. 456-458.
 6. Cf. Baldus: *Essaios de Etnologia Brasileira*, p. 86.
 7. Xamanismo tapirapé (Tapirapé Shamanism), *Boletim do Museu Nacional*, n.s., Antropologia, 3: 79, 1943. Rio de Janeiro.
 8. *Ibid.*
 9. *Op. cit.*, p. 39.